The House reassembled after lunch at thirty minutes past two of the clock, **The Vice-Chairman (Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal)** in the Chair.

RESOLUTION FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT BOARDS FOR VIDARBHA, MARATHWADA AND THE REST OF MAHARASHTRA--(contd.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): We now take up the Private Member's Business. Shri S. N Deshmukh to continue.

SHRI SHANKARRAO NARAYANRAO DESHMUKH (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, about a fortnight back, I had drawn the attention of this august House to a very important provision in the Constitution, Article 371(2). The spirit and the intent behind this Article is very important. It is meant for the welfare of the people and to remove the backwardness of the people in Vidarbha, Marathwada and the rest of Maharashtra. It may be said that other provisions are there in the Article and those provisions are being followed but the intent and the spirit behind it is the creation of infrastructure for these backward areas, for these backward people so as to eradicate poverty. The source of poverty may not remain for ever. Therefore, creation of infrastructure was the idea behind it. The standing provisions made in the Budget, say for roads, tanks, primary schools are the elementary things. What we have experienced,? We have experienced Sir, the results are made and therefore, I would like to draw the attention of the Hon. Minister, through you, to a very important resolution of the Governmrnt of Maharashtra. The resolution reads : I quote,

"The Government of Maharashtra, Social Welfare, Cultural Affairs, Sports and Tourism Department Resolution No. TWP-1076/5199-XV, Sachivalaya Annexe, Bombay dated 4th March, 1976. This resolution was passed right in 1976 and the State of Maharashtra was created in 1956.

I have referred to the resolution and it is a solid proof and proof beyond any reasonable doubt that all these years, the benefits never reached these backward areas. It is now generally accepted that some of the tribal groups in the State have remained completely untouched by the processes of development during the last four Five Year Plan periods—not one but consistently for the last four Five Year Plans. Some have marginally benefited. The problem of tribal development has assumed great importance in the context of high priority accorded to the social justice in the planning. Therefore, I submit, Sir, looking to this resolution, it is a neglected fact. It is not only neglected but a never cared fact so that it should remain a source of poverty. In the light of the past experience, during the past four Five Year Plan periods, it was realised that the problem of Scheduled Tiribes, living in compact areas is essentially that of economic development of those areas and of integrating their economies with that of the rest of the country. Area development, by itself, however, will not be sufficient. It says :

"Area development must proceed in consonance with the development of the people on those regions."

This is more important. Some parts are advanced and some parts are always backward. And what is the number of villages which the backward areas comprise ? The number of villages is 6,426—48 tehsils and 13 districts. These are the backward areas. And the resolution was passed by the Government of Maharashtra for this purpose. Therefore, what I say is that only making provisions in the budget will never help to

[Shri Shankarrao Narayan Deshmukh]

remove or eardicate the backwardness of an area. Hence the necessity is much more to have the infrastructure. And why do I say this ? When we start small-scale industries, when we start any public enterprise, we have the necessary infrastructure-roads, electricity, water and other amenities--and so they prosper. But here we only make scanty provisions and the result of making these scanty provisions during the last four Five-Years Plans up to 1976, is that which I have just quoted. Therefore, I say that in the absence of any infrastructure, it is all useless ; it will go waste. There are officers, there are some commissions and there are so many bodies who are entrusted with the task of looking after these matters. But the result is that somebody has eaten away all the benefits . Who has eaten it away ? The hedge has eaten away the crops. It is as clear as daylight. Otherwise, the resuits would have been manifold during tie last 30 years. The results are going minus, not even plus one. Therefore, I say that all the losses are due to this fact that all those people who are entrusted with the job have ruined all the schemes.

Now, Sir, in this connection, I will draw your attention to Schedule 5, para 5, of the Constitution, It says :

"Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, the Governor may, by public notification, direct that any particular Act of Parliament or of the Legislature of the State shall not apply to a Scheduled Area or any part thereof in the State or shal apply to a Scheduled Area or any part thereof in the State subject to such exceptions and modifications as he may specify in the notification and any direction given under this sub-paragraph may be given so as to have retrospective effect.

Then sub-paragraph (3) says :

"In making any such regulation as is referred to in sub-paragraph (2) of this paragraph, the Governor may repeal or amend any Act of Parliament or of the Legislature of the State or any existing law which is for the time being applicable to the area in question."

Therefore, I submit, Sir, that the Governors are given such wide powers for the improvement of these backwared areas that even Acts of Parliament or Acts of the State are overruled, for the welfare of the people. So, this provision is much more mandatory, as I mentioned in my previous speech. It is specially mentioned in the Constitution and these provisions override the other provisions of the Constitution. The Governors are entrusted under these two provisions, with the job of looking after the welfare of the people and removing the backwardness of the area in spite of any impediments in the Constitution. Therefore, the force of the article 371(2) and para 5 of Schedule 5 is much more. It may be argued that when such efforts were made for forming development boards for places like Telengana, Andhra, Kutch and Saurashtra, there is no proof that the necessary infrastructure was anytime made or provided for. There cannot be a hard and fast rule. A thing may be a failure at one time at one place and it may be a success at another place. Therefore, that is no argument. Another argument may also be advanced that all these divisions like Vidarbha, Marathwada they have their separate High Court Benches. (*Interruption*) Bombay has got everything of its own. Technical schools, electric supply, transport and communications, all these are the broad things in every State. What is required is removal of backwardness. Threfore, this argument that these were the things made in the past, will not help. Even so, I would like to draw your

attention that some of the leaders of Maharashtra have off and on unequivocally demanded establishment of development boards. It has been reported in the press very often. I submit, therefore, that being for development of backward areas these boards must be created.

Now I would draw your attention to Article 46 of the Constitution, its wording, that "the State shall promote with special care. . ."—— the wording is always set to promote the interests of the backward areas--" . . . the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation."This is the most important Article in the whole Constitution. This is the foundation stone of the Constitution wherein the Government of India expects to built a welfare State. Therefore, taking into consideration all these three Articles——Article 46, Article 371(2) and Schedule V, Clause (6)—anybody will be convinced beyond any reasonable doubt that there is necessity for creating development boards with infrastructure—— not mearly making a provision. Now I would draw your attention to a special thing. I come from a backward area in Nasik. There are private institutions working in these backward areas. They run schools and colleges, they run hospitals. They get students from Bombay to enhance their knowledge. But they are not given a single rupee's grant. What I submit is when these private institutions can flourish there, can work there, in Kanastu in Nasik district, Surgana tehsil in Nasik district, why not we? What happened to our money ? Where has our money gone? Where are our grants? Looking to this state of affairs the saying must be true that the hedge has eaten away the crop. Why not have these things inquired into ? Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram is running these institutions but it is not given a single rupee as grant. It is not run on a party basis. They are working for the welfare of the people. They are working for the welfare of the people. Why not help them ? Why don't you give them some grants to promote the cause of the backward people ? That is the question now.

Sir, I would like to suggest one more thing. I would like to bring to the notice of the House and also to your notice one thing. Delays do happen and sometimes delays are beyond human control. But sometimes delays are politically motivated. But even delays are condoned sometimes looking to the importance of the matter. This is fit case where all these 36 years which have gone by may be forgotten and a fresh start can be made now. Otherwise, what will happen is that the same thing will be there and the same phenomenon will be there. Therefore, I would like to say that if this is done, if these boards are created, the State of Maharashtra would stear clear of the two extremes of proletarian dictatorship, which destroys the liberty of the individual, and the capitalist oligarchy, which hampers the income and security of the masses. Therefore, I submit that this is a necessity and, even according to the Constitution, it is a necessity. Now, what remains to be done is only one thing. The President may be pleased to issue an order in exercise of his powers conferred on him by article 371 of the Constitution, so that these boards may be created. With these words, Sir, I conclude. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL) : Now, Dr. Shanti Patel.

DR. SHANTI G. PATEL (Maharashtra) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the subject matter of this Resolution, moved before this House

[Dr. Shanti G. Patel]

by my colleague, Dr. Bapu Saheb Kaldate, refers to the constitution of development boards for certain regions in the State of Maharashtra. Sir, this is something which is provided for under the Constitution under Article 371. The whole issue arose because of the reorganisation of the States in our country. A number of regions were sought to be brought together under one State and the merging regions expressed the view that their legitimate hopes and aspirations might not be looked after particularly the developmental needs might not be cared for, and that was why certain provisions were made. After this, the people inhabiting these particular areas, the areas of Marathwada and Vidarbha, and also Konkan, which was not referred to at that time, have been saying and repeating that the developmental needs of those regions are not being taken care of and they have asked for, as provided in the Constitution, these development boards and have requested that these development boards may be constituted. They have been making this request all along. But, unfortunately, nearly thirty years have elapsed since the reorganisation of our States and this particular provision has not been given effect to so far. The fact that the Constitution needed to be amended, which is not done lightly, and was amended in this case, shows the strength of feeling of the people coming from these areas. This is one aspect.

Later on, experience has shown us that they have remained backward only. Sir, I had an occasion—not because I live in that area, in that part of the country, but I am sure that many persons would have had an occasion—to motor down from Bombay to Aurangabad. What did I see ? What does one find ? Sir, I am giving just only one instance. The roads are not in good condition or are not in that good condition as compared to the roads in the rest of Maharashtra. I am referring to only one instance. There were other persons travelling with me who also asked why the state of these roads was so bad. These are the roads which lead to the famous caves of Ajanta and Ellora. This is the state of affairs in this part of the country. Aurangabad, as is well known, is a part of Marathwada. So this is one proof. I do not want to go into all the details because the previous speakers have gone into all the details. What I would like to emphasize is that there is a constitutional provision which requires the Governor to go into this problem. A special responsibility was cast on the Governor, and the President was to go into this problem and make such a structure which would lead to the development of these particular areas. These provisions also require that matters like technical education, vocational training and employment in services would be better looked after if these provisions were brought into effect and were given effect to under the aegis of Governor.

This is the demand which they have been making and which has been neglected. Both the Houses of the Legislature, the democratic institutions, came to an unanimous view that this needs to be done, this has to be done. Accordingly they passed a Resolution in the respective legislative bodies and they forwarded this Resolution to the Central Government to the President, for proper implementation of these provisions. Now. this is something which the States have been asking for. Irrespective of political persuasions and personalities, there is a unanimous wish which has been expressed which, I believe, should have been respected by the Central Government But there seems to be some hesitation in agreeing to this request and giving effect to what has been stated in this particular Resolution.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI (Uttar Pradesh) : What is the hesitation ?

DR. SHANTI G. PATEL : That Resolution says that this Development Board should be constituted. Very simple. Very simple. It has been referred to also in the Resolution of Dr. Bapu Kaldate. Mr. Kalpnath Rai normally reads papers. But this time he seems to have forgotten. Anyway, the point is that this safeguard should be brought into operation. Here is a request. Why isn't the Central Government acceding to this particular request of giving affect to these provisions ? May I know from the Minister as to why is this hesitation ? Why is there delay ? This delay is causing a lot of trouble. It is not merely that we administer properly. But the people who are sought to be administered should also have the feeling of participation, they should not be left with a feeling that they have been neglected and they remain in the backward areas. Even assuming for a moment that they are not in backward areas, but the fact that there is a feeling has to be taken note of and the feeling to be done away with, has to be got rid of, at the earliest. Then only proper integration can take place and proper development of that area, including the State and the country, can take place. If the people are left with this heart-burning and sad feeling, I am afraid the effort which we expect these people to put in may not come forth. Mr. Salve, I am sure, will also say that it is not that justice is done but there should also be the feeling that justice has been done. In this particular case, it applies with all its force.

All of us have been saying day in and day out that we believe in the principle of decentralisation. Here is an opportunity. A particular provision has been made. Here the people and the State Governments are willing to go along. It is only the Central Government which comes in the way of implementation of this principle of decentralisation. The Father of the Nation has always said that if we want to have proper administration, there has to be as much decentralisation as possible. I think this is the way in which this decentralisation can be put into practice and its fruits can be tested, can be enjoyed by the persons concerned in those areas. So this is another reason why this particular provision needs to be given effect to at the earliest.

In this context, I would like to refer, to which reference has also been made in the Resolution moved by Dr. Kaldate, that there has to be a separate board for Konkan. It is well known—Anybody coming from Maharashtra will bear this fact out—that this is one area which has remained backward, although it was a part of the original Bombay State. It is still backward. Unfortunately, the nature is not so kind to this particular region and for several reasons there is no worthwhile development in that area. That is why it becomes necessary that this particular region should also be brought into the picture and should have a Development Board of its own so that the basic necessities or developmental necessities are taken care of. I would, therefore, plead that let us not waste time, let us not make the people desperate and let us not sow the seeds of disintegration. I am not saying that the people are going to go away from our country. I am saying that that participation, that cooperation and that effect which is necessary to take the counry forward may not be there. In this context, I am saying that let there be real integration and let us see that this particular resolution is respected and given effect to as early as possible. The Development Board Boards will look after the needs of the people concerned.

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE (Maharashtra) : I rise to participate in this debate. At the outset, I submit that I fully support and endorse the sentiments behind the resolution which has been moved by Dr. Kaldate. I very much appreciate the sentiments expressed by Dr. Shanti Patel while he was supporting the resolution. He has stated one thing and that is that if nothing else, only for assuaging the feelings of the people that they are being discriminated against and that they are in a backward area, this sort of Development Board has to be created. I fully disagree with him to that extent. It has to be realised that there are heavy backlogs. It is an accepted fact that there are heavy backlogs so far as developmental work is concerned both in Marathwada from where the hon. Minister happens to come and in Vidarbha from where I happen to come. It is no longer a question of sentiments. It is a question of constituting the Development Boards which will effectively and efficaciously take care of. . .

DR. SHANTI G. PATEL : You should take into consideration the matters of sentiments also.

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE: To some extent the matters of sentiments may have been there some years ago. You talk of roads. Here I want to narrate an incident. I want to go into the question of roads since he has raised it. One day I was travelling with late Shri Y.B. Chavan in a Taluka town. We were on a road. He asked what sort of road was that. I said that that was a national highway. He wondered that that was the condition of a national highway in Vidarbha. He looked at me and I looked at him. Unfortunately, he is not amongst us today. In one of the meetings he said : "Among the many things which are neglected in Vidarbha, one is that these roads are thoroughly neglected." These are recorded speeches and there are tapes available. Therefore, let us forget the sentiments.

At the time of the Reorganisation of States, Article 71 was inserted. It was meant to guarantee to the people in the backward areas of Vidarbha and Marathwada. It was there at the time of the modification of the article by virtue of Constitutional Seventh Amendment Act of 1956. Later on, the other part of the State was added to it. It was a guarantee that in case the vital interests of the people of these backward areas were not protected by the State, then the responsibility will be squarely that of the Centre to interfere and ensure proper development and allocation of funds keeping in mind adequate educational facilities, technical education and other educational facilities, etc. I am sure that it is undisputed today that there are heavy backlogs of development in Vidarbha and in Marathwada and in the Konkan area to which the resolution refers. How long are these people to put up with this sort of grievance that they have been discriminated against ?

3 P.M.

Sir, why for this article was created ? A brief history may be worth its while. It was created to ensure that should there be intra-State imbalances, if there be imbalances in between different regions of the State, the Central Government will come very squarely and fairly to the rescue of the people. Therefore, my first question to the hon. Home Minister will be whether or not he is aware that there are very extensive imbalances in the development work. And, Sir, I must congratulate the State Legislature of Maharashtra that it passed a unanimous resolution for the constitution of the Development Board under article 371. It is a great object lesson to several other Legislatures in the country which, at the slightest

pretext, in season and out of season, mostly out of season, accuse the Central Government of the erosion and subversion of federelity and complain that the autonomy is sought to be usurped and eroded by the Centre. Here is a Legislature in Maharashtra which is comprised of representatives who represented extremely enlightened and politically conscious electorate and they say, all right, if the State has failed, we, all of us want the Central Government to constitute a Development Board and effectively redress the grievances of the backward areas. It is for that implementation of the constitutional guarantee that we are here raising our voice because Dr. Shanti Patel is right, though he does not belong to Vidarbha and Marathwada that the people have become desperate. The State Government says that we have thrown the ball into the court of the Central Government. And now the Central Government, fortunately for us, is headed by a leader, a youth leader, who is known for his dynamic ways of working, who is known for his courage and for his boldness. And because of his leadership, high hopes have been raised in Vidarbha and people do expect that justice will be done to us because it is accepted that there is a backlog. It is accepted that because of that the State Government wants the Development Board to be constituted. And the people expect the constitution of such a Development Board and there will be proper allocation of funds for Marathwada and Konkan, and the grievances on account of unemployment, the grievances on account of inadequate technical education and other facilities would be removed.

Sir, my respectful submission is this : Various apprehensions have been raised about the constitution of the Development Board. One of the apprehensions raised, utterly ill-founded, was that this would virtually amount to abrogation of the authority of the State Government in respect of the area in which the Development Board is going to function. Nothing can be more deceptious, nothing can be more fallacious than this. It is the Presidential Order which will determine the special responsibility of the Government. What is the scheme of the Article, Sir ? It is very simple. I really do not know why this dust is created. If it is not to be done, tell us that it is not to be done. But this sort of view being raised that is legally it would amount to abrogation of the authority of the State Government is not only ill-founded but it is also thoroughly unjustified. It is subversive of the very basic cardinal principles which are enshrined in Article 371. Sir, the scheme is very clear that the Presidential Order providing for special responsibility of the Government is to be made firstly to constitute separate Development Boards for Vidarbha, Marathwada and the rest of Maharashtra and it should report each year to the Legislative Assembly. Then this Development Board is to ensure equitable allocation of funds for development expenditure. But it is not unchanneled authority which has been given. It has been stated that 'subject to the requirement of the State as a whole'. And at this juncture, I wish to make it clear to the hon. Minister that it can never be my case, it can be nobody's case who is supporting the constitution of the Development Board that we want development of the Vidarbha or we want the development of the Marathwada at the cost of the State as such. The idea is absolutely ridiculous. Vidarbha cannot progress, Konkan cannot progress and Marathwada cannot progress unless the State as a whole progresses. We do not want our development to the detriment of the interests of the State. In fact, that is the basic requirement of the Article itself that whatever allocation you want to make for equitable development of these backward areas, it has to be done keeping in view the overall requirement of the State. And if the overall requirement of

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

the State warrant the necessity of certain different allocations, primacy must be given to it bacause the paramount interest is the interest of the development of the State. But within the State itself, why should we be discriminated against ? Is it not ultimately a feeling of discrimination ? And is this discrimination not going to lead to desperation in the life of a nation, in the life of a country or in the life of a State if the people remain dissatisfied and discontented that somebody else is going to get far more than what others are getting? I know there are constraints of resources; I know we have extremely limited resources for our development. All that we say is, whatever limited resources are available to Marathi-speaking people in different regions, let those be fairly allocated. That is all; that is the end of the matter. We cannot expect to convert Vidarbha or Marathwada into Utopia or Maharashtra to be converted into Utopia. Let the sentiments of discontent not creep in. Today, what is the gravest danger to the country Dr. Shanti Patel was right for once. He said the gravest danger to the country is disintegration. Fissiparous and divisive tendencies are getting grip of the situation. Politically they are becoming powerful. But what is it that they nurse on ? They nurse on the sense of frustration of the people, the desperation of the people as a result of discrimination. Very lavishly they make false promises and gain political prominence. That is the reason why regional parties are coming up like mushroom in the country. In Maharashtra we have been having a predominently Congress State because the electorate there are highly enlightened. They know all other parties put together, lumped together, are not worth their salt, and nothing good will come either for the State or for the country. It has been a Congress State. But this desperation and discontent has come about and that is sought to be encashed by certain Opposition leaders who are now thinking of putting up a regional party.It is the easiest bait given to a man of Vidarbha or Marathwada to say that 'Mr. Salve and his party cannot go and fight for you; he cannot get redress for the genuine grievences, which he feels genuine grievences of the area; you come with me; elect my people and they will fight for you." They come here and fight and that is what everyday we are seeing. Please realise this very hard-headed political reality that regionalism is the greatest single threat to a nation's integrity. We have to work for the unity and integrity of the nation for which we in Maharashtra are devoutly and dedicatedly working and if a proof is needed, it lies in the eating of the pudding, the resolution of the legislative party. The Legislature says, all right, people are discontent, dissatisfied; we ourselves say and go to Central Government; we ourselves will go to the Central Government for a Presidential Order. It is the Cabinet which will determine the terms of the Presidential Order and it can so make the Presidential Order that there is no conflict with the authority of the State Legislature whatsoever. The only thing that will have to be seen is that Legislature will have to be a little circumspect and so long as the Governor functions through the Development Board, it is fine, and that allocation of funds by way of Demands for Grants is reasonable, equitable and just and in that case no conflict can ever arise in any manner whatsoever. But what happens supposing such a conflict arises ? Is it not fair that as required by article 371 which enjoins a duty on the Central Government--and that is one of my questions I would be asking the hon. Minister --does it or does it not enjoin a responsibility on the Central Government. And if does enjoin a responsibility on the Central Government, which are the cirmcumstances under which you are going to discharge your responsibility ? And are not circumstances right as they are ?

How long are you going to try and test and drive the people into corner, into desperation, into actions which are most undesirable, which are anti-social, which are anti-nation ? We do not want that to occur.

Therefore, my respectful submission is that this bogey that is sought to be raised that it will mean erosion of authority either of the State Legislature or the State Government is the biggest bluff.....

SHRI S.W. DHABE (Maharashtra) : The Chief Minister has said and while moving the resolution he has allayed all those fears that there is no erosion of authority of the State Government.

Shri N.K.P. SALVE : Unless there was'nt an assurance to the Chief Minister that he is not bartering away the interests of the State Legislature, he would not have moved the resolution. If I am asked to forgo a centimetre of my right in the House, I will fight till the last. I am not willing to forgo even a centimetre of the right which belongs to the House. In the same way, I expect, the State Legislatures will never barter away, But it does not mean that the exercise of this right would not impel you to be fair and just to the people who are shouting for justice, who are shouting for redressal, who have been shouting that they have been discriminated against and these are the figures. The figures speak eloquently of the injustice which has been done to the people of Vidarbha and the people of Marathawada, which the Legislature, the Chief Minister and the entire Cabinet are anxious to rectify. The only thing I am unable to understand is, why should there be diffidence on the part of the Centre.

Equally, I wish to make it clear that people must have faith in the working of the Constitution as a whole. The sanctity of the Constitution, I submit, Sir, is an extremely important duty and it is for this reason that I personally think that our Constitution favours. the tilt of our Constitution is entirely in favour of the unitary form of Government. Sir, State Legislatures are there. Their authority has been given to them. But I am sure, every one knows, that in terms of article 249, if this House passes a Resolution with two-thirds majority, we can make laws in respect of the State itself straightaway. In fact, Mr. Kaldate could as well have moved a Resolution in terms of article 249 and I am sure, two-thirds of the Members of this House would have seen our plight, would have seen how miserable we have been feeling on account of this backlog, would have seen the terrible misfortune we have engulfed ourselves in as a result of this. We, therefore plead very fervently to the Central Government, to rise to the occasion under the dynamic leadership of a leader, who is known for his courage, who is known for doing things even going out of the way to do justice to the people who need justice, who deserve justice. Since you come from Maharashtra, Mr. Home Minister, you yourself, I am sure, like any one of us; perhaps more than any one of us, are aware of the sentiments and feelings of the people of these areas. These are no longer sentiments and feelings. These are hard realities. The realities are : our irrigation plans, our roads, our developmental activities, our power supply, are matters which leave a lot of room for improvement. Therefore, my respectful submission to the Home Minister is that he should, without any delay, constitute these development boards, give them adequate and sufficient powers, ensure that the Governor is enstrusted with the responsibility in regard to these development boards, with a view to bringing about proper development of the area which it is supposed to bring. This is, one, equitable allocation of funds for development expenditure, subject of course, to the requirements of the State. I can never over-emphasise the fact

[Shri N.K.P. Salve]

that we do not want anything at the cost of the State. If the State is in difficulty, we, in Vidarbha, are used to starvation and we can starve for the sake of the interest of the State. We do not want anything at the cost of the State, as such. If the State grows, we grow, If the State does not grow, we also will not be able to grow. Within the limited area of the State itself, we want a just treatment. Also, we want equitable arrangements. An impotent Board is of no use. Without bringing about any conflict with the State, give it adequate authority and power to monitor the entire developmental plans and programmes. Ask it to monitor. Then, there should be equitable arrangements providing adequate facilities for technical education as required, as mandatorily required in the article itself. Then, there should be adequate facilities for vocational training and adequate opportunities for employment. Sir, the boys from Vidarbha have to look to Bombay for jobs. We have no adequate jobs in Vidarbha. I do not know what is the position in Marathwada. Why ? Vidarbha is such a rich area. We have been endowed with a fertile land; it is such a bounteous area. All that we need is a little help, a proper input into the whole area so that it can develop; it will become a prosperous area, one of the most prosperous areas, as prosperous as Haryana or Punjab. All that is needed is a proper approach to development. I plead, therefore, very fervently with Mr. Kaldate not to press his Resolution, leave it to the wisdom of the Home Minister, depend upon our leader ...

DR. BAPU KALDATE (Maharashtra) : For how many years ?

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE : Our sentiments have been expressed. As you know, Mr. Kaldate, your Resolution cannot be carried through. We want that what you have said should be effectively implemented But, for this, you should withdraw your Resolution, We would insist on an assurance. . . .

DR. BAPU KALDATE : You can ask the hon. Minister to accept my Resolution and go ahead. I think, that is better.

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE : I do not want to get into this technical issue, I only request him to withdraw his Resolution and in this matter depend on the political wisdom of the Home Minister, depend on my leader, the Prime Minister, for his courage, boldness and ever-willingness to do justice to the people who deserve justice.

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, डा० बापू कालदाते जो यह रिजोल्यूशन लाये हैं, मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूं। यह बड़े भाग्य की बात है कि प्लानिंग मिनिस्टर, नियोजन मंत्री यहां पर मौजूद है और हमारे गृह मंत्री भी यहां पर मौजूद हैं। मराठवाड़ा और विदर्भ दोनों बहुत ही पिछड़े हुए इलाके है। मुझे इन इलाकों को देखने का अवसर मिला है। अभी हमारे मित्र कह रहे थे कि मैं तो चाहता हूं कि कम से कम डा० बापू कालदाते अपना रिजोल्यूशन वापस ले लें। लेकिन गृह मंत्री जी आप इस बात का आश्वासन दें कि आप 15 दिन के अन्दर इस बोर्ड को कांस्टिट्यूट करेंगे... (**व्यवधान**)। मैं तो यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि संविधान में इन प्रोविजन्स का क्या मतलब है? संविधान में इन प्रोविजन्स की व्यवस्था कितने साल पहले की गई थी? लेकिन आज तक इनको इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं किया गया है। मै तो गृह मंत्री जी आप से कहता हूं कि आपके शासन मे और आपके दौर मे यह बोर्ड कांस्टिट्यूट नहीं किया गया तो फिर कोई दूसरा गृह मंत्री आएगा तो किसी भी कीमत पर नहीं करेगा। आप लाख कहते रहें, फिर यह बोर्ड बनना कठिन है। न जाने लोग क्या-क्या बातें कहते रहते हैं। मैं जानता हूं, किस तरह के लोग हैं और किस तरह की बातें हो रही हैं। मैं आपसे और

नियोजन मंत्री जी से यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जो इस इलाके की बैकवर्डनेस है उस पर आप विचार करें और इस इलाके के डेवलपमेंट के लिए प्लानिंग कमीशन एक कमेटी बनायें, एक कमीशन बनायें जो विदर्भ और मराठवाड़ा एरियाज में जायें। वह कमीशन रिपोर्ट दे कि इनकी बैकवर्डनेस के क्या कारण है और इन क्षेत्रों मे कहां कहां पर विकास किया जा सकता है। वह कमीशन यह देखे कि विदर्भ और मराठवाड़ा में किन उद्योगों के लिए अवसर हैं और वहां के लोगों की रुचि किस मे है? स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज के माध्यम से वहां पर क्या डेवलपमेंट हो सकता है। काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज और हैण्डलूम इंडस्ट्रीज या शुगरकेन इंडस्ट्रीज के माध्यम से क्या डेवलपमेंट हम वहां पर कर सकते है? कितना रोड्स पर खर्च होगा। मैं चाहता हूं कि प्लानिंग कमीशन खुद इस मामले को प्राथमिकता दे। मैं उत्तर प्रदेश का रहने वाला हूं। मैं आदरणीय गृह मंत्री जी से आपसे निवेदन कर रहा हूं कि आप भगवान के नाम पर आश्वासन दें कि 15 दिनों के अन्दर इस बोर्ड को हम कांस्टिट्यूट कर दें और यह केबिनेट की मीटिंग में पेश किया जाय। प्रधान मंत्री जी की और हमारे अन्य केबिनेट के लोगों की इसमें रुचि है। वे अवश्य इसको स्वीकार करेंगे। मैं चाहता हूं कि आप केबिनेट में इस मामले को पेश करें। आप इसमे व्यक्तिगत रुचि लेकर इस बोर्ड को कांस्टिट्यूट करें। मुझे विदर्भ और मराठवाड़ा इलाके को देखने का अवसर मिला है। मैंने इन क्षेत्रों को देखा है। आप सतारा, सांवली, कोल्हापुर और पूना के क्षेत्रों को देखकर यह अन्दाजा नहीं कर सकते है कि ये महाराष्ट्र के इलाके है। मुझे अच्छी तरह से याद है, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने जब आपको मुख्य मंत्री बनाया था तो उसके पीछे यही बात थी कि महाराष्ट्र में जो रीजनल इम्बलेन्स है, जो असंतुलन है, उसको दूर किया जाय। आपको मुख्य मंत्री बनाने का उद्देश्य यह था कि विदर्भ और मराठवाड़ा के इलाकों का विकास किया जाय। लेकिन दुर्भाग्य से आपको पूरे साल भी काम करने का अवसर नहीं मिला। आप चाह करके भी वह काम नहीं कर पाये जो आप करना चाहते थे। अब आप भारत के गृह मंत्री है। यह बोर्ड कांस्टिट्यूट करने की आपको पूरी पावर्स हैं। प्लानिंग मिनिस्टर श्री पांजा भी यहां पर मौजूद हैं। आप दोनों मिलकर केबिनेट में इस मामले को ले जा सकते है। संविधान की धारा 371 में लिखा हुआ है —

"Provided further that no such order which relates to matters other than those referred to in the last preceding proviso shall be issued except with the concurrence of that Government.

(2) If the concurrence of the Government of the State referred to in paragraph (ii) of sub-clause (b) of clause (1) or in the second proviso to sub-clause (d) of that clause be given before the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of framing the Constitution of the State is convened, it shall be placed before such Assembly for such decision as it may take thereon.

"Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, the President may by order made with respect to the State of Maharashtra or Gujarat, provide for any special responsibility of the Governor for—

(a) the establishment of separate development boards for Vidarbha, Marathwada, and the rest of Maharashtra or, as the case may be, Saurashtra, Kutch and the rest of Gujarat with the provision that a report on the working of each of these boards will be placed each year before the State Legislative Assembly."

यह जो संविधान में व्यवस्था की गई है यह किस सन में की गई है? तब से मैं समझता हूं कि बीस वर्ष हो गये होंगे।

डा० बापू कालदाते : 25 साल हो गये।

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : करीब 25 साल हो गये । हम लोग संविधान की कसम खाते हैं । जब आप राष्ट्रपति भवन में शपथ खाते है तो कहते है कि हम संविधान की प्राण-प्रण से रक्षा करेंगे ।

SHRI S.W. DHABE : Maharashtra is celebrating its Silver Jubilee.

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : तो वहां हम कसम खाते हैं कि हम संविधान की प्राण-प्रण से रक्षा करेंगे । मेम्बर आफ पार्लियामेंट संविधान की कसम खाने के बाद ही एम०पी० हो सकता है । 25 साल में कम से कम 25 बार डेवलपमेंट की रिपोर्ट पेश की जानी चाहिए थी । 25 वर्ष एक युग होता है, मोर दैन टू डिकेड । लेकिन इतनी देर के बाद भी यह बोर्ड क्यों कांस्टिट्यूट नहीं हो पाया ? मैं मांग करता हूं कि आप 15 दिन के अंदर मराठवाड़ा और विदर्भ के विकास के लिए एक बोर्ड कांस्टिट्यूट करें और आपको अगर कोई दिक्कत है तो हम सब प्रधान मंत्री के पास चलते हैं कि आप इसको कांस्टिट्यूट कीजिए । अगर दिक्कत महसूस होती हो तो हम यह करने के लिए तैयार हैं । सही बात कहने में प्रधान मंत्री जी खुश ही होंगे, उससे नाराज नहीं हो सकते । इसलिए आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस बोर्ड के गठन की मांग करता हूं ।

दूसरी बात मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि रीजनल इम्बैलेंस के प्रोविजन के पीछे मंशा क्या है ? इसकी मंशा यही है कि रीजनल इम्बैलेंस जो देश में है उसको कम किया जाय । एक तरफ तो द्रुत गति से विकास हो रहा है और दूसरी तरफ विकास की गति बहुत धीमी है । अभी हमने पंजाब मे साढ़े सात सौ करोड़ रुपये थीन डाम प्रोजेक्ट के लिए दिये हैं और 2 सौ करोड़ रुपया कोच फैक्टरी के लिए दिया है । कुल साढ़े नौ सौ करोड़ रुपया । पूरे पंजाब की आबादी एक करोड़ है । हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के बाद वहां तुरन्त ही भाखड़ा और नांगल डाम बनाया गया और पंजाब का जो रेगिस्तानी इलाका था उसको हरा भरा बना दिया गया है । आज पंजाब में इतनी दौलत हो गई है कि उस दौलत के नशे में वहां कई आन्दोलन हो रहे हैं । यानी, खाते खाते वे मर रहे हैं, इतना ज्यादा उनका विकास हो गया है । (**व्यवधान**) ... बिल्कुल सही बात है । Punjab politics is politics of affluence. हर पंजाब के गांव में बिजली है, सड़कें है, हर घर में ट्रक्टर हैं, ट्यूववेल हैं और उनके पास दौलत है, पानी की तरह रुपया बह रहा है । यह रुपया वे कहां खर्च करें उनके सामने यह सवाल है और दूसरी तरफ सवाल है कि हम कैसे जिंदा रहें । मराठवाड़ा के लोगों के सामने सवाल है कि हम अपनी रोजी-रोटी कैसे चलाय और विदर्भ के लोगों के सामने सावल है कि हम अपने बच्चों को कैसे पढ़ाये । आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूं कि आज रीजनल इम्बैलेंस का देश में बहुत बड़ा सवाल है । मै आदरणीय गृहमंत्री जी से यह कहना चाहता हूं कि पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश और उत्तरी बिहार हिन्दुस्तान में सबसे दरिद्र इलाके हैं । मराठवाड़ा भी गरीब है । लेकिन पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश के 15 जिले और उत्तरी बिहार के इलाके इतने गरीब हैं शायद दुनिया में कोई इलाका इतना गरीब हो । देश में इतना रीजनल इम्बैलेंस हो । 3 करोड़ की आबादी है पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश की और करीब करीब 5 करोड़ की आबादी होगी उत्तरी बिहार की । ये इलाके देश के सबसे गरीब और सबसे पिछड़े इलाके है । 12 करोड़ और कुछ लाख लोग उत्तर प्रदेश में रहते हैं । वहां विकास नाम की कोई चीज ही नहीं है । चाहते हुए भी विकास नही हो पा रहा है । मै तो चाहूंगा कि पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश के, उत्तर बिहार के विकास के लिए इसके पिछड़ेपन को दूर करने के लिए प्लानिंग मिनिस्टरी एक कमीशन बनाए जो यह देखे कि इसके पिछड़ेपन का कारण क्या है । अंग्रेजों ने इस इलाके को इसलिए कुचला क्योंकि आजादी का लड़ाई में 1857 से लेकर 1947 तक इस इलाके के लोग अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद के खिलाफ जूझते रहे । जब देश

आजाद हो गया तो भी यह इलाका आज सबसे पिछड़ा हुआ बना हुआ है। उस इलाके से हमारा सम्बन्ध है। राम चन्द्र विकल जी हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश के बहुत बड़े नेता है। जब से विधान सभा में आए होंगे तब से जानते होंगे कि पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश कितना पिछड़ा है। जो भी हिन्दुस्तान का प्रधान मंत्री हुआ उस व्यक्ति ने जा कार के उसके विकास की बात की। जो भी मुख्य मंत्री हुआ उसके विकास की बात की। आज उत्तर बिहार और पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश में 8 करोड़ की आबादी है। 8 करोड़ में 4 करोड़ लोग बेकार हैं। उनको कोई रोजी-रोटी का साधन नहीं है। करोड़ों पढ़े लिखे लोग बेकार है। करोड़ों बिना पढ़े लिखे बेकार हैं। बम्बई में 25 लाख आदमी ऐसे होंगे जो पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार के होंगे जो वहां एकदम स्लम की प्रोब्लम पैदा किये होंगे। बम्बई में स्लम की प्रोब्लम आज उठाई जाती है। आज बम्बई नगर में 25–30 लाख आदमी पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार के है। कलकत्ता में 40 लाख आदमी उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार के हैं। हैदराबाद में उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार के आदमी रोजी-रोटी की तलाश मे घूम रहे है। चण्डीगढ़, अहमदाबाद, दिल्ली इन सारे इलाकों में उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार के लोग लाखों की संख्या में रोजी-रोटी की तलाश में घूम रहे हैं। मैं प्लानिंग मिनिस्टर से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं (व्यवधान) बैंकाक, सिंगापुर में हैं। लेकिन उस जमाने में 1947 से पहले तो हमारे इलाके के लोग फिजी, गायना, मारीशस, लंका, बर्मा जाते थे, अंग्रेज उनको अपना गुलमटिया बना कर ले जाते थे। बर्मा, फिजी, गायना, लंका सिंगापुर, क्वालालम्पुर में हमारे देश के आदमी रोजी-रोटी के लिए जाते थे। 1947 की आजादी के बाद इन इलाकों के लोगों का वहां जाना बन्द है। कोई भी उत्तर प्रदेश बिहार का आदमी अब वहां नहीं जा सकता है। आदरणीय सीताराम केसरी स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानी हैं और बिहार से आते है। मैं चुनौती के साथ कहता हूं कि आज हिन्दुस्तान में यदि सब से गरीब इलाका कोई है तो वह बिहार है और उस बिहार में गरीब इलाका उत्तरी बिहार है। आजादी की लड़ाई में सबसे ज्यादा कुर्बानी अगर किसी ने की है तो वह बिहार ने की है और हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी की लड़ाई का सबसे बड़ा श्रेय बिहार को है। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि रीजनल इम्बैलेंस क्यों हैं। रीजनल इम्बैलसेज को दूर करने के लिए प्लानिंग मिनिस्टर से मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश और उत्तरी बिहार के विकास के लिए पिछड़े-पन को दूर करने के लिए कमीशन की नियुक्ति करें और जो संविधान में प्रावधान किया गया है मराठवाड़ा विदर्भ के लिए प्लानिंग विकास बोर्ड बनाने के लिए मैं गृह मंत्री जी से माँग करता हूं कि 15 दिन के अन्दर इस विकास बोर्ड को बनाएं ताकि यह लगे कि हम पूरे हिन्दुस्तान को एक निगाह से देखते है। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आदरणीय नियोजन मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि आप पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार के गांवों में जा कर दो चार दिन रहिये केवल दिल्ली से हिन्दुस्तान का नक्शा नजर नही आएगा। आप खुद जाकर के वहां रहिये गांव में रहिये तब आपको अन्दाजा होगा कि हिन्दुस्तान का विकास कहां तक हुआ है और इससे आपको सही स्थिति की जानकारी होगी। रीजनल इम्बेलेंसेज को दूर करने के लिये हमारी सरकार पूरे देश के पैमाने पर कदम उठाए। क्योंकि इस समय संकट रीजनल इम्बैलेंसेज का है और रीजनल पार्टीज इसलिए बढ़ रही हैं। जिन इलाकों का 38 साल से विकास नही हो रहा है उन इलाकों में लोग क्षेत्रीयता का नारा दे कर नयी पार्टी बना लेते हैं। आज आसाम में क्षेत्रीय पार्टी आसाम गण संग्राम परिषद् बनी है और आसाम के आन्दोलन के पीछे आसाम का पिछड़ापन है। आसाम इतना पिछड़ा रहा है और उस पिछड़ेपन के कारण ही वहां के नौजवानों ने बगावत की है और एक नयी क्षत्रीय पार्टी बनाकर हमारे लिए सिरदर्द बने हुए हैं। कन्या कुमारी से लेकर काश्मीर के पैमाने पर पूरे हिन्दुस्तान की एक स्टेडी की जाये। प्लानिंग मिनिस्ट्री इसकी

[श्री कल्पनाथ राय]

स्टडी करे कि कौन-कौन से इलाके हिन्दुस्तान में हैं जो बहुत पिछड़े है और कौन मध्यम रूप से पिछड़े हैं, कौन बहुत विकसित है । जब तक आप पिछड़े इलाकों को प्रेफरेंशियल ट्रीटमेंट नहीं देंगे, प्रेफरेंशियली ट्रीट नहीं करेंगे तब तक ये पिछड़े इलाके विकसित इलाकों के मुकाबले में खड़े नहीं हो सकते Special opportunity has to be given to the backward areas, preferential treatment has to be given to the backward areas by giving more money, more funds, for the development of these backward areas.

इसलिए मैं आदरणीय गृह मंत्री जी से और सरकार से मांग करता हूं कि बापू कालदाते ने जो यह प्रस्ताव रखा है हम उसका समर्थन करते हैं और विदर्भ और मराठवाड़ा के विकास के लिए उस बोर्ड को तुरन्त गठित किया जाये ।

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU (Orissa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, at the outset I pay my compliments to the mover of the Resolution, Dr. Bapu Kaldate, for bringing a very thought-provoking issue before the House.

Actually, if we read the Resolution, the first part is the historical part. It relates to history. It says :

"that the Constitution of India makes special provision for the establishment of separate development bords for Vidarbha, Marathwada and the rest of Maharashtra in artile 371(2) thereof;

"that the Maharashtra Legislature had unanimously passed a Resolution recommending that such boards be established;"

So, there is nothing. It is all necessity according to history. It is enshrined in the Constitution that there must be a separate board for development of this region. This truth nobody can deny. There are three aspects in the Resolution. First is historical; then it is political; and then, the most important, the economic and planning aspect of development of the backward region. That is the last part which, to me is more important. It says :

"this House recommends that separate development bards should be established for Vidarbha, Marathwada and Konkan regions of Maharashtra without further delay so that these regions could develop economically and industrially at a rapid pace."

So, in the ultimate analysis, the ultimate insight, the importance given is that in this age of planning these backward regions of Marathwada, Konkan and Vidarbha must develop on par with other parts of the State. On that, more emphasis, the Resolution has given. So, it is very important to analyse how far these regions are backward and why these are backwards. It gives a thought-provoking insight into the whole planning aspect in our country.

Sir, the concept of regional development and planning is a recent thought in India. With the growth of planning we have seen that certain clusters of cities or areas are growing at a rapid rate and that other areas are lagging behind. So, inspite of all our aims to remove the regional imbalances in the country and to develop the backward areas, it has been seen that the gap is becoming wider. As it has been expressed by many speakers before me, people in thebackward regions

are seething under discontent and frustration. We have to think of new modalities, new infrastructural framework so that these regions can have economic development at a rapid speed. So that is very fundamental question which we have to look at, though this Resolution speaks of only of Marathwada, Konkan and Vidarbha.

Sir, the main characteristic of a backward area, whether it is Vidarbha or any other part of the nation, is probably the same, slower rate of growth, of the average income, low productivity and lack of infrastructure. These are the basic problems due to which any area remains backward. These factors obstruct the path of progress, the path of growth, the path of economic productivity, as a result of which the area remains in what we call, in economic term, the syndrome of economic backwardness. Regarding these economic backwardness, one of the famous economist Myrdal has said:

> "Almost all economic activities which tend to yield a return a higher than the average in a developing country cluster in certain prosperous areas, leaving of the rest of the economy more or less in back water. At times, these prosperous areas drain away resources from backward areas by offering them higher returns. The backward areas could not be dovetailed effectively into the focal points of new growth."

This is the crisis of our planning. It is time that we analyse all these things. The establishment of separate development boards for backward areas is not the panacea for all these evils. It cannot solve the economic development of backward area. It is one of the institutional framework which will help the development of these areas. According to me, that is the purpose of this Resolution. We can analyse it not only in one state but in different states. Now, the Planning Commission has accepted the States as a region. I feel different areas in various States are developing and getting the benefits in a different way. To my mind, the development board should be set up not only for Vidarbha, Marathwada and Konkan but for the whole country where there are backward areas. Then only the planning will become pragmatic. The Planning Commission should clear the backlog of backwardness in many backward areas. It is necessary that we have to accept new modalities and the new institutional framework.

Now, I will give analysis of Vidarbha regin in Maharashtra State with regard to its industrialisation. Whatever industrialisation has already taken place is very unevenly distributed geographically. There are places, were industry is absent practically. According to Industrial Licence Policy Enquiry Committee, that is, Wanchoo Committee Report, out of licenses issued during 1965—1966 about 51 per cent went to three districts, namely, Bombay Sub-Division Thane and Pune. So, the benefits of planned develpment have not been equitably distributed. Though Maharashtra is a developed State, the Vidarbha, Marathwada and Konkan regions have not been in parity with other parts of Maharashtra. That is why the local people of those areas have a feeling that they have been neglected. The framers of the Constitution, when they amended it, they wanted to safeguard at that time, the people's interest where the development should be equal with the other parts of the Maharashtra State. They had this provision in the Constitution. Any developing country, attempting to develop a backward area must have to consider all these aspects.

[Shri Santosh Kumar Sahu]

So also we have to pay adequate attention towards other backward areas in other States. Our hon. friend Shri Kalpnath Rai mentioned about backward areas in Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Chhota Nagpur village in Bihar. In Orissa also there are backward areas in coastal and other areas. I have already said in this House before that Orissa is having abundant natural resources including the mineral belt. Unfortunately in these areas, people are struggling to eke out their livelihood. No proper planning is done for them to ameliorate their living conditions. So my point is that we have to look at this problem with a new dimension when we are discussing this Resolution.

Now I want to tell about another thing. Of course, during the Fourth Five Year Plan, a decision was taken by the Planning Commission to have rural employment and other programmes. I want to tell this House that these programmes have not a permanent and continuous productive growth. No doubt it has generated a certain per cent of employment. Ultimately it has not collaborated with national projects to have a growth of permanent nature. That is why the backward areas have not been benefited so much.

The basic question to develop a backward area is infrastructures like transport, railway network, steel, etc., which are the vestings of the colonial rule, that is the Britishers who wanted to connect all metropolitan cities. But, then, we have doubled and multiplied these metropolitian cities lines but the areas which have mineral resources and other things, do not have work of basic infrastructure. Otherwise, the things could have developed much more in the under developed areas of the country. As regards the question of regional imbalance, Sir, the State Government has to play a very vital role in seeing that the disparities within the State do not exist and people of different regions of the State may not get frustrated. Otherwise, this will have a very bad political repercussion in the future of this country. So, the State Government has to play a crucial role in easing out inter-State disparities, identifying local development potential and providing administrative and financial support to the various regions. The promotion of institutional framework to develop these areas require greater fiancial investment and other facilities, like the basic infrastrucutre and so on. Now, let us examine one thing. The Wanchoo Committee in 1969 reported one thing that not only for the industrialisation, the credit flows from the nationalised commercial banks in the country, 62 per cent of their total credit also has gone to the metropolitan cities. Of course, the Government has realised that the distribution of funds by various financial institutions had not served the cause of industrial dispersal in an appreciable manner in the backward areas and the investment has been very slow. Rather it is limping. So, until these facilities are provided in the backward areas, there is no scope for the development of backward areas to a greater extent. The Constitutional amendment which was brought about Marathwada, Vidarbha had very specifically pointed out that there should be equitable distribution of funds by various financial institutions. If we read the paragraph, it reads as under:—

"Article 371(b), equitable allocation of funds for development and expenditure over the same area, subject to the requirement of the State as a whole and equitable arrangement providing adequate facilites for technical education, vocational training, adequate opportunities for employment in service and the control of the State

Government in respect of the said areas, subject to the requirement of the State as a whole."

So, this is a very broad and wider aspect. It means the State Governments also have a certain responsibility to look into the all round development of all the backward regions. It is not only the responsibility of the Central Government but also of the State Government to see that these areas also develop simultaneously like the other regions of Maharashtra and so also other backward regions of different States. Now, the people have become conscious, Political cohesion in the country is being eroded and unless institutional frame work in the different backward areas is developed to create faith in the people that we are really doing something for them, it will be very difficult to create confidence among the people and there are many forces which want to exploit regionalism. Though I condemn them I feel, we have a responsibility, the Government has responsibility to see that the backwardness of different regions is looked into by the Planning Commission. The Planning Commission regard the State as the region for its policy of development but that has not solved the problem of many areas like Vidarbha, Marathwada, Eastern U.P. and the Hilly tracts of this country. It is seen sometimes that these areas do not get their proper share in the rural employment programme and other programmes meant for the socio-economic development of the backward areas because they are not coordinated permanent programme. They do not create basic infrastructure to increase production. Sir, I may tell you one historical fact. When there was a great famine during the British regime at that time, as famine relief work, a railway line was constructed from Howrah to Madras. Imagine how much of infrastructure was constructed ! We spend millions of rupees for giving rural employment. Can we not create such planning zones so that infrastructural facilities are created, giving a new ray of hope for economic development in the backward areas ? Could we not have connected the Ganga with the Cauvery and constructed channels by mobilising the youth force and spending all the money needed for it, creating a new dimension in economic development? That would have given a new outlook, a new faith to the people. That is what is necessary. See what China is doing on the other side of the Himalayas. We must take the poorest people into confidence, whether it is Vidarbha, Marathwada or any other area. It is fundamental that their right to participate in the development must be respected. They must be put in the national garland of development. They must feel that the nation is looking after them. It is not the doles which the officers may give which will create faith in them. New ideas should be created and planning should be re-cast. If we want to mobilise the 70 crores of people with so much divergence in language, so much divergence in culture, so much difference in economic earnings, it is necessary that planning must have coherent thought and it must try to coordinate the efforts of all the people. It must not encourage fissiparous tendencies which in the past had created political confusion and are now trying to destroy the fabric of Indian nationalism. Itis high time that we gave priority to the backward regions. So I would humbly submit through you, Sir, that the Planning Minister must consider seriously the development of backward regions, especially now when this resolution has come. There is no denying the fact that the Vidarbha region and the Marathwada region are lagging behind. This is the finding of the Wanchoo Committee. This is the finding of all the committees. Hon. Members from different sides have mentioned about the lack of roads, communication

[Shri Santosh Kumar Sahu]

system and other infrastructural facilities. I feel that only a development board may not solve the problem. I feel that the Planning Commission can look into the matter and have an evaluation of the past development programmes. It should see basically why it is lacking in infrastructure for development, and why, for example, there has been no development of basic agricultural industries. It should see whether there is supply of proper seeds, technical know-how etc., whether basic agricultural industries have been started there or not. Sir, these are also mineral areas. One aspect that we must see in India is that we export minerals as raw materials. Even before independence, the Congress Planning Committee said: it is wasteful; let us not export raw materials; let us utilise them. God is bountiful. We have a lot of minerals. Whether it is Nagpur, where coal is produced or it is Chhota-Nagpur where iron ore is available or it is Orissa we export all the minerals and we earn money, but we do not contribute anything to them. They contribute to the national exchequer and we earn money from export, but we are not spending any money for their development. Could we not spend some money for their development ? Could we not have a special cell for their development ? These are thought-provoking things. I think planning has to be reoriented; it has to be given a new dimension. It must not only create faith in the people, but the people also must be associated very earnestly with it. India is marching ahead. We have progressed a lot. There is no denying it. But if the pace of growth is not uniform throughout the country, there will be frustration which will be dangerous for our unity and may create further problems.

So basically while supporting the resolution, I would say that—Dr. Kaldate will understand—it is more a problem of planning. How this development board can solve the problem is not very clear to my mind. It may also create certain problems sometimes. But I agree entirely with him that there is much wrong done over these 25 years in not improving their economic level, in not helping them with vigorous implementation of the plan programmes. Then only the people will feel that the spirit of the Constitution Amendment has been carried out. Therefore, I appeal to the Minister not only for Vidarbha or Marathwada or Konkan, for other backward areas of the country also we should have a new dimension, a new outlook in our planning so that these neglected people, these backward people, the people below the poverty line, will feel that planning is the real panacea and the country is marching ahead and is set to achieve a great progress, that we can achieve our objectives, that we can successfully fight all economic ills. I believe that the Planning Commission will immediately send a team to Vidarbha, Marathwada and other areas to assess how the lot of these regions can be improved, what the disparities are and make a report to Parliament so that this honourable House can appreciate what the bottlenecks are in the development process of each region, so that a systematic effort can be made by the Centre and the States, how to make a new planning new development programmes, for these areas, so that the faith of the people in our planning process is reinforced. With these words I conclude. Thank you.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have been listening to the speeches of the honourable Members with considerable distress. It is a matter of misfortune that after almost 35 years of the farming of the Constitution people belonging to different regions in the same State should

come forward with complaints that there has been disparity and discrimination in their economic and social development. I think it is a matter of shame for the nation as a whole. It is, I respectfully submit, a matter which concerns not merely these three regions in the State of Maharashtra, it is a national problem. It concerns the State of U.P. There are complaints, and genuine complaints, that the whole of Eastern U.P. has been neglected in socio-economic development. There have been complaints from different regions in the State of Andhra Pradesh. I respectfully submit that there were complaints and, to some extent, there were genuine complaints from the State of Punjab also with regard to the development of industries in the State. Therefore, I do believe that while discussing this particular provision we must not lose sight of the fact that we are confronted with basically a national problem. At the same time, while giving expression to these sentiments, we must also not lose sight of the fact that from the floor of this honourable House we have spoken with a unanimous voice that by all the strength of the nation we must keep in check the regional sentiments and feelings in the interests of the unity and integrity of the nation. Having submitted this, I would like to place before this honourable House certain constitutional aspects of this particular Article. Orginally Article 371 made a different reading when the Constitution was adopted. And at that time Article 371 said :

"Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, during a period of ten years from the commencement thereof, or during such longer or shorter period as Parliament may by law provide in respect of any State, the Government of every State specified in Part B of the First Schedule shall be under the general control of, and comply with such particular directions, if any, as may from time to time be given by the President:..."

There were two dimensions to the original article. One was that it was meant to be transitional in character. Secondly, it applied to States mentioned in Part B of the First Schedule, because those States had not fully developed their governments and democratic institutions. It is for this reason that this transitional provision was made in article 371 and it was made in order to ensure the establishment of good governments in Part B States under the control and direction of the President of India, namely, the Central Government. This article was amended by the Seventh amendment in 1956 and this is how the present article came into being. Of course, even in 1956, there were two clauses of this article. But I need not go into clause 1 of this article as it was introduced in 1956 because that does not concern the present discussion. Keeping in view the history of article 371 and the fact that the States were reorganised in 1956, the Constitution-makers of Parliament thought it fit that so far as the State of Maharashtra was concerned, there were very serious imbalances in these three particular regions of the State and the President of India should exercise some control over this State so that the disparity in the development of these three regions would disappear. It is for this reason, this particular reason, that this article was introduced in 1956. But, Sir, now that the demand is being made after a passage of thirty years for the establishment of these development boards, it raises some very pertinent Constitutional questions.

A provision in the Constitution which was contemplated to be transitional in character is sought to be invoked after a passage of thirty years.

SHRI S.W. DHABE : This is a special provision and not a transitory or transitional one under article 371.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Sir Mr. Dhabe is right in saying that article 371, as it has been introduced, does not speak in terms of any specific period as the original article mentioned such as ten years or a longer period or a shorter period. But the whole spirit and ambit of article 371, in the background of its Constitutional history was that it was meant to be transitional in character. Secondly—this is more important—the Resolution says, which is being placed before this honourable House, that "in spite of the Constitutional obligation which has been in existence. . . . . ". Here I join issue with my friend, the honourable Mover of this Resolution. There is no Constitutional obligation; there is only a Constitutional discretion. The article does not say that it shall be the Constitutional obligation of the President to establish these boards. It says : "Notwithstanding anything in the Constitution, the President may,"—mark the words "may"—"by order, made with respect to the State of Maharashtra, provide for any special responsibility of the Governor, etc. etc. . . . . .". Thirdly, what does this article say?

Sir, this article says that the President may, in his discretion provide, by means of an order, for special responsibility of the Governor for the establishment of the development boards. Now, the other most vital Constitutional aspect is as to what is the meaning of "special responsibility" of the Governor. Once this order is made by the President conferring the special responsibility on the Governor in regard to Article 371 of the Constitution, then the question will be whether in the discharge of the responsibility under article 371, the Governor shall be controlled and guided and be bound by the aid and advice of his Council of Ministers or whether he will have the discretion to exercise his own individual judgement in the discharge of his responsibilities under article 371. The whole of the Constitution adumberates, and in fact specifically now provides, that the Governor in the discharge of his executive functions shall be bound by the advice of his Council of Ministers. But under this article, it has been provided that this shall be the special responsibility of the Governor. My respectful submission, Sir, is that this special responsibility of the Governor shall not be subject to the aid and advice of his Council of Ministers and he shall be answerable only to the President of India. And here there will be a situation, of which this hon. House must be aware of, before putting its vote in favour of the Resolution. It can create a constitutional impass in the State of Maharashtra between the Governor on the one side and the Council of Ministers who are answerable to the State Assembly, on the other. This expression 'special responsibility' was in fact picked up by the Constitution makers from section 52 of the Government of India Act—section 52 of the Government of India Act, 1935—provided :

> "If, and in so far as any special responsibility of the Governor is involved, he shall, in the exercise of his functions, exercise his individual judgement as to the action to be taken".

And once the President makes an Order under Article 371 conferring special responsibility on the Governor, then the Governor has to exercise his individual judgement with regard to all the matters which will come under the purview of the Development Boards. For instance just one example—now, in the matter of appointments, employment under the control of the State Government, on the one hand the Government may have its own views regarding the recruitmen policy with regard to the persons who are to be recruited and appointed to the Government services. On

4.00 P.M.

the other hand, the Governor, in the exercise of his special responsibility under Article 371 may choose to differ with the State Government. What will be the position? There will be a constitutional crisis. The Governor is not answerable to the State Assembly of Maharashtra ; the State Government is. You are going to place responsibilities on the Governor in the discharge of which he is not answerable to the representatives of the people of Maharashtra. He will only be answerable to the President of India. Will the people and their representatives like to face this situation? These are the matters, very serious constitutional matters, which must be borne in mind before the demand, after a lapse of 30 years, is made for the Constitution of Development Boards.

Sir, in the end, I will respectfully submit that the answer in the removal of these disparities, discrimination, does not lie in the establishment of these Development Boards. The answer lies in the evolution of a national, integrated policy, which will take into consideration not only these three particular regions in the State of Maharashtra but all over the country in such a manner that each and every corner of India develops and is brought at par with the rest of the developed country. At any time, there should not be a support to the regional feelings. With these words, I think I should request the hon. Member to reconsider this Resolution and withdraw it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): Now, the hon. Home Minister will intervene.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S. B. CHAVAN): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have gone through the entire debate and have also heard with rapt attention the views expressed by hon. Members from both the sides. Barring one or two, I believe, everyone was, in fact, in support of it. One of the sentiments expressed here is that the backward regions need to be especially looked after. The areas of backwardness can create problems not only fo the State but for the nation as a whole. Although I am not, in fact, competent enough to say it and although it is not exactly relevant, still some hon. Members referred to some of the backward areas from the other States and they were very enthusiastic in supporting the Resolution moved by my hon. friend, Dr. Kaldate. I think there is going to be a discussion on the Seventh Five Year Plan and I hope that the same kind of enthusiasm will be found when the Seventh Plan provisions and the removal of regional imbalances are discussed. Unfortunately, there seems to be some kind of misunderstanding in what the Planning Commission considers as a region and what the State Government considers as a region. In the State there are different regions and so far the view of the Planning Commission has been that any region within the State is the responsibility of the State Government and not the responsibility of the Central Government. When the Planning Commission say that our approach to the Plan is that we should approach the Plan in such a manner that we should be able to reduce the regional imbalances, they mean different regions in different States or different regions of the country which have lagged behind because of some historical reasons. This is a diametrically opposite point of view which has been brought together in this discussion in which regional imbalance has been referred to even by Dr. Kaldate. I have gone through his speech wherein the Seventh Plan document has been referred to and he says that the Government has accepted the position. Certainly the Government has accepted the

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

position. But there is a difference in the concept of what you are treating as a region and what the Planning Commission is treating as a region. These are two totally different ideas which are being talked about here.

Sir, there is no denying the fact that in spite of the silver jubilee which is going to be celebrated by the Maharashtra Government in 1985, some of the regions have lagged behind. I happend to come from a region which has in fact lagged very much behind. To say that in the last 25 years, this Marathwada region has totally lagged behind is not correct. It will be a travesty of facts. It is not a fact. But it was so backward that much more needs to be done. In fact, there can be no quarrel about it. So is the position in Vidarbha. Vidarbha has lagged behind and Vidarbha needs to be given special attention. In regard to roads, irrigation, electrification and so many other schemes of the State Government, more attention has to be paid to Vidarbha region also. I am sorry, Mr. Salve is not here. In fact, he has gone to the extent of saying that this is a bluff. I am really sorry for the kind of language that he has used. My friend, Mr. Bhatia has interpreted Article 371(2). While we try to solve the problem, I think, we should not create a major problem. And so far as the total development of the...

SHRI S. W. DHABE: Vidarbha area development is a major problem for us. What Mr. Salve was saying was right. We are coming from that area. We know our plight.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I think, you have not understood what I am saying. I have no quarrel on the development of Vidarbha at all. By all means, whatever is required should definitely be done for the development of Vidarbha development of Marathwada, and, development of the rest of Maharashtra also. What is the method that we are going to adopt is the main point. And it is not because of any figment of imagination that I am saying this. Hon. Shri Bhatia read Article 371(2). He gave the previous history of Article 371 which was of a transitory nature. And under article 371(2), it is the special responsibility of the Governor to see that what he has been saddled with, he should be able to discharge his duties irrespective of what the aid and the advice the Council of Ministers gives. This is the constitutional position. There is no running away from the fact. We cannot deny this. For solving the problem of development, are we going to create this kind of a constitutional major issue ? This is one of the issues. With a view to solving this, if we can find a way out, I will be the happiest person. In fact, I have no doubt and that is why I specially enquired of the Maharashtra Government in the monsoon session when this Resolution was put forth whether this aspect of the question has been gone into. I would not like to divulge what has been done in this matter. The kind of scheme which they have submitted is an incomplete scheme, and on the basis of an incomplete scheme, the Home Ministry at this stage cannot possibly make up its mind. We will have to discuss this matter again with the Maharashtra Government with a view to see that we should not create this kind of a problem but at the same time attend to the developmental needs of those respective regions. Unfortunately for us, hon. Shri Kaldate referred to only one part of western Maharashtra. Most probably, hon. Bhatiaji does not seem to be aware that Vidarbha, Marathwada and the rest of Maharashtra means total Maharashtra. Total Maharashtra happens to be a backward area and, that is going to create a real problem for us

For total Maharashtra, what is the basis on which you are going to ask for the Development Boards ? The entire Maharashtra State is a backward area. What is the basis on which you are trying to compare Marathwada as backward, Vidarbha as backward ? If there is a parameter then we can compare that this area has gone ahead, and the rest of the area has to reach that stage. When the entire State is backward, what we are going to compare ourselves with ? That is also another issue on which I would like some kind of a clarification from the Maharashtra Government. I cannot expect Dr. Kaldate to go into all those details and present me because he would not be having that kind of statistical information. But I would not like to take the disadvantage of the situation and just throw something on his face and say, no, no, these are the infirmities in the Resolution and that is why I do not feel inclined to accept it. The fact of the matter is that I am myself convinced that these areas do deserve to be looked after.

[**The Vice-Chairman** (**Shri Santosh Kumar Sahu**) in the Chair.]

Sir, the kind of mechanism which has to be created is the only point, without creating this kind of a constitutional deadlock. Knowing little, just for my own satisfaction, I consulted the Law Ministry, both at the Maharashtra Government level and also at the Government of India level. At least, our approach should be, it should not lead to a conflict between the Governor and the council of Ministers, it should not lead to a conflict between the Governor and the State Legislature, it should not also lead to a conflict which would necessitate even amending the Rules of Business and the very basis on which this Parliamentary democracy is functioning. If the basis itself is going to be knocked out, the Minister is bound to say that these are matters now transferred to the Governor; I am not responsible to the House. Now the Governor is not responsible to the House. What happens to the democratic structure of the State.

SHRI S.W. DHABE: May I point out one fact? The Chief Minister of Maharashtra moved a resolution in this regard in the Legislative Assembly on 26th July,

Maharashtra Legislative Assembly considered this aspect and they came to the conclusion that this responsibility does not come in the way of establishment of the Board. I give you the example of other States like Sikkim, Nagaland, Manipur where a special responsibility also is cast on Governor. I am giving the example. Under article 371(2) Central Government is not bound to appoint the Boards in the State. When it was amended in 1960 it was made clear that Development Boards can be for one area or one region like Marthwada and Vidarbha. I have pointed out to you the speech of the Chief Minister in moving the resolution that Governor's responsibility does not come in the way of functioning of these Boards, and there too, the resolution was passed unanimously.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I wise what the hon. Member has said on behalf of the Chief Minister is borne out by legal opinion. That is why I said I have not made up my mind. These are the issues which in fact, are in my mind as to how to get over these difficulties. If what the hon. Member Shri Dhabe has pointed out, is also substantiated by the legal opinion of Maharashtra Government, certainly it is most welcome. Let them give their legal opinion; I will consult our Law Ministry...

SHRI S.W. DHABE: The Assembly passing a resolution takes a practical aspect of it; they may not consider legal aspect the technical point being raised.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: This is no t technical. Is the Cabinet system

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

of Government a technical matter? I don't think you can take such a lighter view of the entire thing. If the responsibility of the Government to the Legislature gets diluted it can create a first-class Constitutional issue and thereby not only expose the Governor to all kinds of allegations against him but even the basic structure of what is being contemplated is also going to be eroded. That is the only doubt that I have in mind. Mr. Bhandare unfortunately was not there and that is why he could not follow it. Mr. Bhandare, I was just referring to article 371 and the constitutional difficulty. The discretion which the Governor is supposed to give under article 371 will cut at the very root of the Cabinet system of the Government.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra): Why don't you scrap it ?

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: Is that the only way out?

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Of course so. I have made it explicit in my speech I have dealt with this aspect.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: The hon. Member Mr. Bhandare, has raised the issue about the Centre-State conflict. It is a totally different matter. This is what I am putting forth. I would in fact, like to be satisfied on this score. So far as the development aspect is concerned, I am not opposed to it. In fact, accelerated development of backward areas is a necessity. I definitely agree that special attention should be paid to such areas and we should create necessary conditions for homogeneous development of the different regions. Then only, a real emotional integration can be brought about in the country. There is no doubt about it.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: If you permit me...

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: If yon are putting forth any legal issue...

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: I am not raising any legal issue. I am saying something else. Of course, I understand this was enacted in 1956 and now perhaps, it may be difficult. But all that we are suggesting is, you should come out with something far superior, for better, than keeping this issue dangling. We want results. We want development. We want integration, a proper integration. This is all we are saying. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: I would not like to give up. Let me answer this. Later on, if there are any points I will try to deal with them. (*Interruptions*). Otherwise, this will lead to break in my link.

Sir hon. Member, Mr. Bhandare has suggested that something new should be brought. This is totally a different issue. The issue now is, the Constitutional power under article 371(2). If the Government has to take a step forward in this direction, then we would like to be satisfied before recommending to the President that these boards can be created, that no Constitutional difficulties are going to arise. I have to satisfy myself and get the opinion in favour of finding a solution to the problem. As far as the solution to the problem is concerned, there is no quarrel about it. But it is only in regard to the mechanism which has been suggested which in fact has created some kind of a doubt in my mind. In fact I would not have wanted to refer to this issue. But hon. Member, Shri Bhatia, referred to it and, I must say, correctly. He has correctly given an interpretation of article 371(2); this can definitely lead to some kind of a Constitutional crisis and in a State like Maharashtra, if this kind of Constitutional impass is created, it can have repercussions in other areas also. If the hon. Member is interested, I would like to inform

him that only one experiment was tried Nagaland and other areas have no relevance at all. As hon. Members are aware, a Board was constituted...

SHRI S.W. DHABE : Mr. Minister, I would like to invite your attention to the wording in article 371(2) which says 'provide for any special responsibility of the Governor...' (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU) : Mr. Dhabe, let the Minister complete his reply.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : There was one similar case of Kutch in respect of which the Presidential Order was issued in 1977. I have a letter with me here, from the then Chief Minister of Gujarat. Normally, I would not have liked to say this. But this was the kind of difficulty which was envisaged in 1977. This is letter dated 28th November, 1977, from the then Chief Minister of Gujarat, Shri Babubhai Potel. He has said 'Announcements made in Parliament on 31st August and on 1st September, 1976, clearly indicate that the then Government was led to this decision largely at the instance of Dr. Mahipatray Mehta, Member of Parliament. The decision to constitute the Board seemed to have been taken not on the basis of popular support or in the larger interests of the State, but rather with a view to getting narrow personal and political gains. We feel that the formation of such a Board would have far-reaching consequences and repercussions and may, in future, lead to similar kinds of demands elsewhere. These are areas specifically mentioned in the same article of the Constitution. In the long run, the possibility of its wider repercussions, elsewhere in the country cannot be ruled out. The special responsibility casts upon the Governor appears repugnant to the principle of ministerial responsibility enshrined in the Constitution. Discuss with then and bring to their notice that these are the constitutional difficulties with which I am confronted. If they have any solution, I would be the first man to support the unanimously passed resolution of the Maharashtra Assembly. Why should the Central Government come in the way ? In fact, Central Government will be too happy to implement what has been stated by Maharashtra Assembly.

Hon. Salve, I do not know, under article 371 he was talking in terms of Central Government taking certain responsibilities and interfering in the working of the Maharashtra Government. At least, I never expected this kind of argument from him. I do not think article 371 (2) ever contemplated interference from the Centre. It is merely issuance of an order, putting certain special responsibility on the Governor and thereafter it is the Government and the State Government who are in the picture, Central Government does not come into the picture at all. My only difficulty is, I will have to see that Goverment is being carried on according to the provisions of the Constitution and if some of the Members were to put forward this point of view, Sir, what can I do ? —If it has been now notified by the President that it is the special responsibility of the Governor and I am no here responsible for the same, then of course, this is a point which I have to find an answer to and that is why hon. Shri Dhabe, hon. Dr. Kaldate or any other Member who is interested, are always welcome, and that is why at this stage. In actual practice the special responsibility cast on the Governor might lead to awkward constitutional situations.

These are the very words and I think hon. Member Dr. Kaldate....

SHRI RAOOF VALIULLAH (Gujarat) : Shri Babubhai Patel

[Shri Raoof Valiullah]

was the Janata Party Chief Minister.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : His opinion is very clear and due to which this order of the President, after one year, had to be repealed because of these serious infirmities which have been found later on.

Of course, the framers of the Constitution must have applied their mind but all the eventualities are not always taken into account. As things develop certain new things are brought to light. And these are the real issues which, in fact, I am confronted with. I would like to find a solution to the problem. Answer to this is not emotional speeches (*Interruptions*). I am not expecting emotional speeches from hon. Members. If they have any legal arguments to put forth, they will be of much help to me because there is no difference of opinion in what they are saying and in what I am saying. I am only finding a way which will take me out of this Constitutional difficult position. You have to help me to find a way out that is why I said the schemes submitted by the State Government are incomplete. They seem to have consulted their own Law Ministry. I would like to go again, I am not opposing it nor supporting it. At this stage I am just keeping myself in this condition that I have to find a solution from Maharashtra Government to all these difficulties that I am confronted with. If they can or any of the hon. Members can give me assistance which is required for finding solution to these difficult constitutional issues, I will be very happy. I do not think Dr. Kaldate will be interested in pressing this Resolution for the vote of the House. If he were to do so, first I will request him that he should withdraw it and after that if he insists on, I will request the House to reject the Resolution.

SHRI S.W. DHABE : One small point. An assurance was given to the people of Maharashtra and Vidarbha area in Marathwada at the time of the formation of Maharashtra State under article 371(2). That assurance is not being implemented even now. Apart from that, hon. Shri P.C. Sethi, who was the predecessor to this hon. Home Minister, on 3rd May, 1984, had given a reply in this House and this was before the matter was referred to the Maharashtra Assembly.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU) : We have to finish this Resolution today. There are four or five names. If you want you can speak for five minutes each. Mr. Suresh Pachouri. Not there. You want to reply, Dr. Kaldate. All right, he is replying.

डा० बापू कालदाते : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, हमें इस बात का बड़ा दुख है कि मंत्री महोदय ने 16 महीने के बाद यह हमारे सामने कहा कि इसकी जो कंस्टीट्यूशनल प्रोबल्लम है या उसके अलग-अलग दृष्टिकोण है, उसको जांचना चाहिए । लेकिन मैं आपसे पूछू कि यह रेजोल्यूशन 26 जुलाई, 1984 को पारित हुआ, जिसमें महाराष्ट्र के मुख्य मंत्री ने, जैसा कि उन्होंने मराठी में पास किया, टेलेक्स मेरे हाथ में है, उनका अंग्रेजी भाषण आया है, जैसा कि उन्होंने कहा है हमने इस बात को देखा है, हमने इस बात के बारे में समझा है और इस बात को हम जरूर मानते हैं कि इसमें अगर कोई दिक्कतें आ जायं, तो जैसे कि इस प्रस्ताव के बारे में हम सब लोगों ने मिलकर फैसले किए हैं, उसी दृष्टि से महाराष्ट्र की अगर कोई दिक्कते हों उनके फैसले भी हम अपने बलबूते पर कर सकेंगे... (**व्यवधान**)... हां, यह लिखा है। अगर यह उनका विश्वास है और मैं यह भी नहीं समझता कि भले ही आपको विश्वास नहीं है, भले ही आप समझते हैं कि उसमें हो सकता है कि

कोई दिक्कतें आ सकती हैं, तो मैं यह पूछता हूं कि यह प्रस्ताव पारित होने के बाद आपने 8–10 महीने तक इनके बारे में पूछा क्यों नहीं ? उन्होंने तो आपको प्रस्ताव भेज दिया । प्रस्ताव भेज देने के बाद वैसे ही पड़ा रहा और अक्तूबर, 1985 में केन्द्रीय सरकार ने महाराष्ट्र सरकार से स्कीम मांगी । महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने नवम्बर में आपके पास भेज दिया । बार बार आप यह कहते हैं कि क्या यह आर्टिकल 371 (2) से सवाल हल हो जाएगा । हम आपसे यह पूछते हैं, जैसा कि भाटिया जी ने कहा तीस साल के बाद हम यह पूछना चाहते हैं कि जो कंस्टीट्यूशन में लिखा था, लोगों ने कभी जोरों से नहीं उठाया, आज ही यह क्यों उठा रहे हैं ? क्या हम इस बात को नहीं जानते हैं, यह 56 साल से हम जानते हैं, 1960 में हम महाराष्ट्र में आ गए और 1960 से अभी तक इस मांग पर जोर नहीं दिया गया और अब यह जोर इसलिए आया कि जो आकांक्षाएं थीं लोगों की, जो इच्छाएं थीं उनके विकास की, जो अपेक्षाएं थीं उनको आगे बढ़ाने की, वे सारे सपने बर्बाद हो रहे हैं ।

SHRI S. W. DHABE : This is his reply :

"As far as question of Development Board is concerned, we have all sympathy and we want to constitute it, but we cannot do it without obtaining the views of Maharashtra Government. We cannot override them."

This is the assurance given by your predecessor. The hon'ble ex-Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi was also present in the House at that time. Are you going to go back on the assurance given by your predecessor in this House ? This is what I would like to know from the hon. Minister.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : There is no question of going back on the assurance given by my predecessor at all.

SHRI SHANKARRAO NARAYANRAO DESHMUKH : There is no conflict at all between the Ministry and the Board because the order would be issued by the President circumscribing or giving the length, breadth and the latitude that will be exercisable by the Governor. So Governor's powers would be certainly within the latitude of the order given by the President. The order will prescribe so many things—the powers, the liabilities etc. of the Governor. So there is no question of it coming in conflict with the powers of the Ministry or the Ministers of Government of Maharashtra.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : I think this is what the hon. Member wishes that such a thing should happen. I am in agreement with him. This should not lead to any conflict. The order should be put in such a language that it should not lead to conflict. But how to bring this about is the main question.

SHRI HAYATULLA ANSARI (Nominated) : Sir, the hon. Minister has just now said that he neither opposes the Resolution nor supports it. And then he asks the House to reject it. Don't you think it is contradictory ?

डा० बापू कालदाते : इसके लिए जो निश्चय किया है लोग उसको उछालने का प्रयास कर रहे हैं । 1960 में स्व. यशवन्त राव चव्हाण ने आश्वासन दिया कि नागपुर करार में जो निश्चय किया गया है उसको अमल में लाने की हमारी जिम्मेदारी है । यह निश्चय किया है कि हम इसके विकास के बारे में विधान सभा के सामने जाएंगे और उसकी रिपोर्ट प्रस्तुत करेंगे । 25 सालों में एक बार भी सरकार नहीं गयी विधान सभा के सामने रिपोर्ट लेकर । लगातार कई सालों से लोग यही मानते रहे कि हमारे विकास की आकांक्षा पूर्ण नहीं होती तो दिस इज दि लास्ट रिजल्ट पीपल आर आस्किंग फार । हम बड़े दुख के साथ इस प्रस्ताव को आप

[डा० बापू कालदाते]

के सामने लाए हैं। अगर 25–30 सालों में अनुशषों को कम करने की प्रक्रिया महाराष्ट्र में चलती तो शायद इस प्रस्ताव को लाने की आवश्यकता न होती। लोगों के मन में विश्वास पैदा होता कि भले ही देरी क्यों न हो, हम उसी विकास की ओर जा रहे हैं, जो एकात्मक महाराष्ट्र जिसके ईक्वल स्टेटस के हिस्सेदार हैं, और जो अन्ततः इस देश का विकास है। ऐसा होता तो हम भी इस बात की मांग नहीं करते।

जो अनुशेष के आंकड़े हमारे हाथ में दिए गए हैं, वे हमारे जैसे लोगों की समझ में नहीं आते। जो सरकार महाराष्ट्र में चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना में कह रही थी कि अनुशेष खत्म हो गए हैं, मराठवाड़ा को ज्यादा मिल गया, जो थोड़े अनुशेष बाकी है वे विदर्भ के हैं, वही सरकार आज मेरे सामने अनुशेष के ये आंकड़े दे रही है। वही मैं पढ़कर बताना चाहता हूं। जो देखा पढ़ा उससे पता नहीं लगता कि ये अनुशेष हमारी जिन्दगी में हम और आप तो दोनों ऐसे ही चले जायेंगे—सत्य हो सकते देखिए मैं बताता हूं कि यह लाख रुपये में है।

रास्ते	(लाख रुपयों में)	
विदर्भ	मराठवाड़ा	कोंकण
29143	10982	7384

बहुत हैं मैं पढ़ना नहीं चाहता– इरीगेशन ग्रामीण विद्युतीकरण, सामान्य शिक्षण, विशेष यान्त्रिक शिक्षण, आरोग्य, वाटर सप्लाई, ड्रिंकिंग वाटर, कन्जर्वशन। यह सारे अनुशेष तीनों भागों में जो हैं इनको इकट्ठा किया जाये तो क्या चीज हो जाती है। सरकार कहती है कि महाराष्ट्र के प्लानिंग डिपार्टमेंट ने हमको यह लिख रखा है कि टोटल अनुशेष यह हो जाते हैं। विदर्भ के लिए 1,24,662,51 लाख मराठवाड़ा के लिए 75,085.74 लाख कोंकण के लिए 29,561.91 लाख। पांचवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में महाराष्ट्र की हमको कहा गया था कि मराठवाड़ा के लिए सिर्फ 23 करोड़ अनुशेष रह गया है। मेरी अरिथमेटिक ठीक नहीं है 75,085.74 लाख कितना होता है इसको अच्छा मेथमेटिशियन समझ सकता है लेकिन 23 करोड़ से ज्यादा होता है यह मैं समझ सकता हूं। आप क्या सुझाव दे रहे हैं। संविधान में इसका क्या होगा, क्या नहीं होगा हम नहीं जानते। हम नहीं चाहते कि किसी प्रतिनिधित्व सरकार की शक्ति किसी विशेषाधिकार के कारण बन सके। जिस शक्ति के बलबूते पर संसद चल रही है, विधान सभाएं चल रही हैं, जनता की शक्ति और प्रतिनिधियों की शक्ति को कम करने की किसी के मन में तिलमात्र भी शंका नहीं है। आपके मन में थी तो लोगों ने उसको दुरुस्त करके दिखाया। हमारे मन में कभी नहीं थी, न हम इसको करना चाहते थे। लेकिन इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि विशेषाधिकार से हो ही जायेगा। क्या आप इस बारे में नहीं सोच सकते क्या लोकल डिपार्टमेंट गवर्नर को नहीं बताता कि हम अगर विशेषाधिकार देते हैं तो इस विशेषाधिकार को संयत रखने का काम लेजिस्लेचर कर सकती है। इस दृष्टि से कोई सुझाव या कोई ढंग आप नहीं सोच सकते?

सही बात यह है इस प्रस्ताव का यही मकसद था और मैंने पहले कहा भी था कि हम यह चाहते हैं कि इस प्रस्ताव के जरिये जो देश में अविकसित क्षेत्र हैं उनके विकास का सवाल देश के सामने जाना चाहिए। मैं तो बहुत खुश हूं कि इस पर उड़ीसा के, उत्तर प्रदेश के और अन्य प्रदेशों के सदस्य बोल सकते हैं और मैं समझता हूं कि जरूरी हो गया है कि इस पर विचार हो। आज यह मांग केवल महाराष्ट्र की ही नहीं है यह सारे देश की मांग है और सातवीं योजना की रिपोर्ट जब आयगी तो उस समय तो हम लोग बोलेंगे ही, लेकिन इस से रीजलिज्म बढ़ेगा इस बात की आशंका नहीं करनी चाहिए। रीजनलिज्म को चेक करने का एक ही तरीका है कि राज्यों की

आशाओं और उनकी आकांक्षाओं को पूरी तरह से देखें, समझें और उनकी इच्छापूर्ती का उन को रास्ता दिखायें और अगर ऐसा होगा तो अगर कोई चाहे भी तो रीजनिलज्म नहीं फैल सकेगा। लेकिन आप उल्टे ढंग से चल रहे हैं। संविधान की दृष्टि से उस को कैसे रोका जाएगा। आपको तो उसके लिये स्वयं प्रयास करना चाहिए। मैं तो कहूंगा कि अगर यह बात महाराष्ट्र में बहुत दिनों तक चलती रही तो हमने और आपने महाराष्ट्र के सारे प्रतिनिधियों ने जो अलग-अलग आंदोलन के हिस्से अभी तक देखे हैं उससे कहीं अधिक आग और आगे भड़केगी। मैं चाहता हूं कि ऐसा न हो। हम नहीं चाहते कि जनता उस रास्ते पर जाय और जनता में उस प्रकार का कोई उद्रेक हो कि जिससे देश में अशांति हो। लेकिन बात एक तरफ नहीं हो सकती। मैंने कहा था कि :

The Government must be responsive. Then the people will be responsible. But if the Government is not responsive, then, there is all danger which I do not want, but there is all danger that the people will also become irresponsible.

महाराष्ट्र की आज तक यही आवाज रही है और महाराष्ट्र ने देश की एकात्मता में जो योगदान देना चाहिये था वो दिया है इस प्रस्ताव पर बोलते समय भी मुख्यमंत्री ने कहा था कि महाराष्ट्र हमारे खून पसीने से बना हैं। इसके लिये कई लोगों ने बलिदान किये हैं। तो यह महाराष्ट्र की भूमि है जिस ने अपने खून पसीने को बहा कर इस संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र को बनाया है वह इसलिये नहीं कि केवल महाराष्ट्र ही बड़ा हो जाये। देश के विकास के लिये हमारा भी योगदान एक बड़ी शक्ति में हो जाये इस के लिये जो प्रयास हम लोगों ने किया है क्या आप चाहते हैं कि वह सब विफल हो जाये और इस प्रयास को असफल बना दिया जाये। क्या यह प्रयास हम लोगों ने गलत किया? ऐसा लोगों को लगने लगे। आप जिस निजाम स्टेट से आते है हम और आप सब वहां कई बार लोगों को कहते सुनते हैं कि पुराने निजाम का राज ही अच्छा था। वह यह बात खुशी से नहीं कहते। मै चाहता हूं कि जो उन की आकांक्षायें हैं उन पर आप दृष्टिपात करें। 28 दिसंबर कांग्रेस जन्म शताब्दी है और यह महाराष्ट्र का 25वां साल है। आप सभी लोग आजादी के सेनानियों को छोड़कर जो कांग्रेस आप की बची है और जिस को आप कांग्रेस मानते हैं वे सब कांग्रेस सेनटेंनरी के लिये इकट्ठा हो रहे हैं। मैं चाहता हूं कि उस समय आप इस को करवा दीजिए। 28 दिसंबर को आप वहां इकट्ठा हो जाइये। ऐसा होने से आप का सेलिबरेशन बहुत अच्छा हो जाएगा। महाराष्ट्र की जनता में भी इस महोत्सव की दृष्टि से एक नई जो आकांक्षा है वह पूरी हो जायगी। यह प्रस्ताव जब से आया है मराठावाड़ा की जनता में एक नयी इच्छा पैदा हो गयी है एक नयी आशा की किरण पैदा हो गयी है और वह समझते है कि विकास की प्रक्रिया में इस से कुछ मदद मिलेगी। हम चाहते हैं कि इस आशा की किरण को आप बुझाइयें मत यह प्रयास कीजिए कि यह भावना ऐसी बुलंद हो कि जिस से महाराष्ट्र में ही नहीं समूचे देश में विकास का प्रकाश उभरे। मैं चाहता हूं कि इस आकांक्षा को आप जरा दुरुस्त करें। जल्दी से जल्दी इस प्रस्ताव के संबंध में आप निर्णय करें। मैं इसको पोलिटिकल प्रैस्टिज का इशयू नहीं बनाना चाहता हूं।

Neither do I want to score any point over the hon. friends from the other side, because we are all together on this particular development board. I request you to do the needful immediately. In view of the assurance that you have given that you would look into the matter, I beg you and the House to allow me to withdraw the Resolution.

The Resolution was, by Leave Withdrawn

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE : As a Bombay man, I want Nagpur to be another Bombay.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now, we will take up Resolution

[The Deputy Chairman]

No. 2. Shri Vithalrao Madhavrao Jadhav has got the permission from Shri Syed Rahmat Ali to move his Resolution.

RESOLUTION RE. NEED FOR PROGRESSIVE MODERNISATION POLICY FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra) : Madam, on behalf of my colleague, Shri Syed Rahmat Ali, I move the following Resolution :—

"With a view to strengthening the present, national efforts and drive for modernisation, productivity and efficiency so that the country is taken to the 21st century this House is of the opinion that Government should evolve a progressive modernisation policy with reference to the following aspects :—

(i) modernisation and improvement of transport system by introducing latest technology;

(ii) modernisation of various plants in public and private sectors for ensuring more productivity ;

(iii) introduction of latest technology and equipment for improving the working of public hospitals;

(iv) encouragement to entrepreneurs interested to set up industries with latest technology;

(v) introduction of modern technology in Government Offices to improve and simplify procedures and quick disposal of cases by them;

(vi) reorientation of welfare schemes for tribals and weaker sections in backward areas so that benefits of modernisation and technology could reach them; and

(vii) monitoring and prevention of pollution by employment of latest technology and for this purpose setting up of Pollution Control Boards in every State and Union Territory."

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV : Should I continue my speech ?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You can continue till 5 o'clock.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV : Madam, in fact, my hon. friend had covered almost all the points in terms of what India needs actually in the field of road transport, air transport, railways and many other fields is that modern technology should be introduced.

Nowadays we discuss about the modern technology to enter into the 21st century. Yesterday in the Consultative Committee meeting also we were discussing with the Prime Minister about the introduction of electronic system in our industries. It is not the question of modernising industry alone, but in agriculture, air transport, etc., it should be introduced.

There is a keen desire among the masses of our country that India needs a scientific and technology development. India wants to become modern in the world. In a very short period, we are going to enter into the 21st century as one of the major powers of the world. That is the need of the hour. The modernisation should be not only in the old tradition of bad roads, the old tradition of bad tracks and the old tradition of inefficient industries but also in the old tradition of our culture and heritage, it